

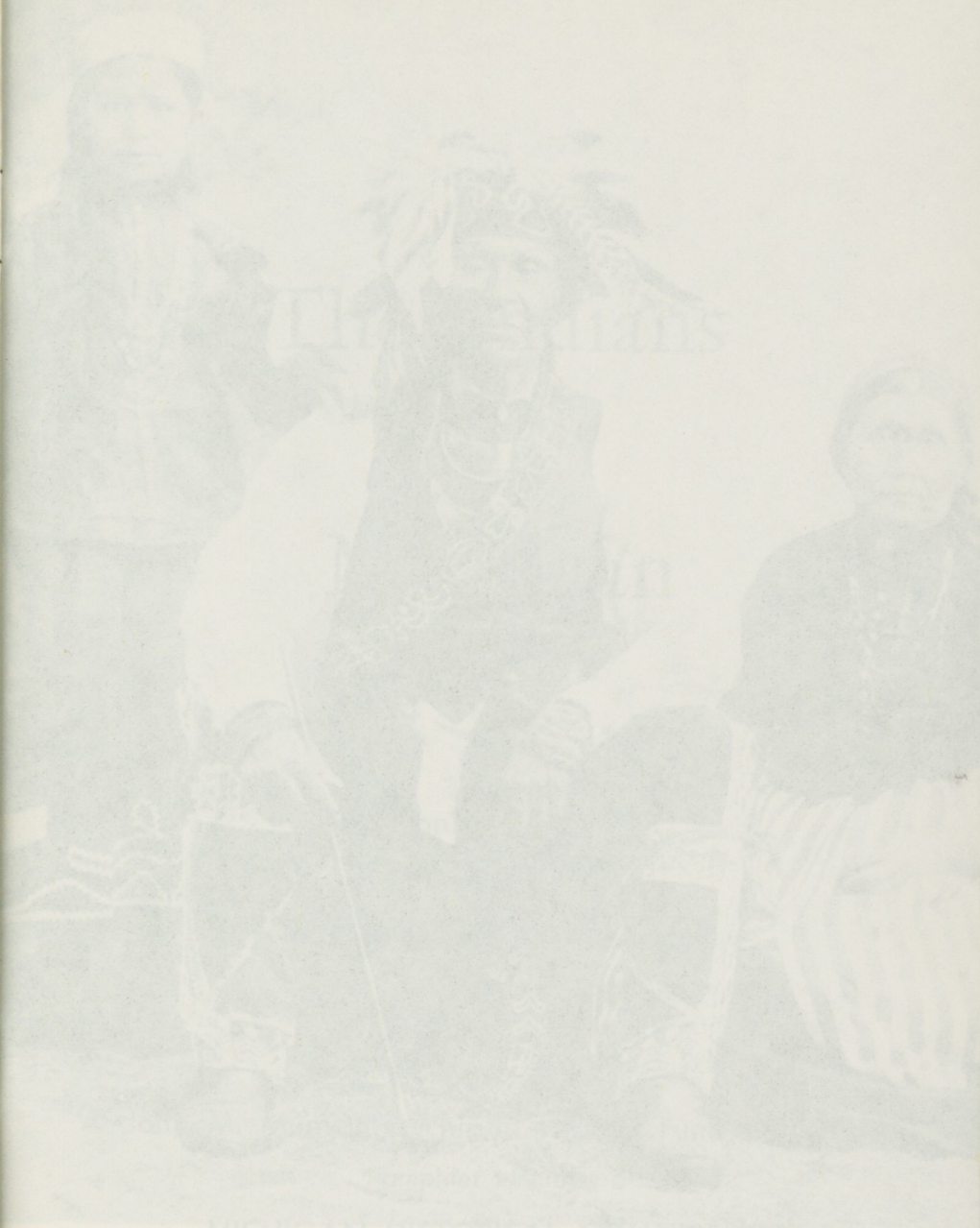
THE INDIANS OF MICHIGAN

By Emerson F. Greenman



MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

COVER: Shingaba W'Ossin, "Image Stone," represented the St. Mary's Chippewa at the 1826 Treaty of Fond du Lac (Duluth), where he was painted by J. O. Lewis, who accompanied Indian commissioners Thomas L. McKenney and Lewis Cass; Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1933), I, facing p. 50.



CHIEF SHOPENACON, HIS WIFE AND CHILD.
A Chippewa family well-remembered in the Gayling area.
1891, given to the Michigan Historical Commission.



Michigan Historical Commission Archives

CHIEF SHOPPENAGON, HIS WIFE AND CHILD
A Chippewa family well-remembered in the Grayling area.

The Indians of Michigan

PREFACE

by

Emerson F. Greenman

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PREFACE

IN 1950 the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund came into being as the result of a bequest to the Michigan Historical Commission from the late Dr. John M. Munson. In his will, Dr. Munson, a former deputy superintendent of public instruction and president of Northern Michigan College and Eastern Michigan University, explained that he was making this large sum of money available to the Commission because of his belief that the citizens of Michigan and especially the state's young people should be well-informed about their state and its history.

Following the instructions which Dr. Munson laid down, the Commission, through the Munson Fund, sponsored the writing of a new one-volume history of Michigan designed for use in the schools. This widely-acclaimed text, *Michigan in Four Centuries* by Dr. F. Clever Bald, was published in 1954 by Harper and Brothers. A second edition, carrying the story through the 1950's, is scheduled for publication later this year. Dr. Willis F. Dunbar's history of higher education, the first volume in the Munson Fund's four-volume history of education in Michigan, soon will be published, in furtherance of a second provision of Dr. Munson's will.

To supplement Dr. Bald's history, the Historical Commission has published, through the Munson Fund, John Clements and Mary Noecker's *Teachers' Guide to Michigan History* and Carl Van Lente's *Michigan History and Course Outline*, both of which are valuable aids to history teachers. Through a series of five film-strips dealing with lumbering, Great Lakes transportation, iron ore mining, the Civil War, and highways, which have been prepared

by Dr. Philip P. Mason, the Commission also has made available much-needed illustrative material relating to important phases of Michigan's development.

In 1960, a new series of publications, the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund Pamphlets, was inaugurated by the Commission to further supplement existing material through the presentation of readable and authoritative short treatments of major subjects in Michigan history. These pamphlets provide the kind of information that the Commission knows from experience that teachers and their classes want and need. At the same time, the booklets are written and illustrated so as to appeal to adults who wish to know more about Michigan.

The present pamphlet, the fifth in the series, deals with the Indians of Michigan from the period preceding the historic era down to modern times. The author, Dr. Emerson F. Greenman, received his academic training at Oxford University in England and at the University of Michigan where he has been, since 1935, Curator of the Division of the Great Lakes at the Museum of Anthropology. As a result of numerous archaeological investigations that he has conducted in the Great Lakes area and of the research on Indian history and languages that he has carried on among the Indians of the region, Dr. Greenman has acquired a vast knowledge of his subject which is reflected in the thoroughness of his discussion in the pages that follow. This pamphlet is certain to have a wide and continuing appeal.

PRENTISS M. BROWN, *President*
Michigan Historical Commission

June 12, 1961

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The Indians of Michigan

Emerson F. Greenman

THE INDIANS OF MICHIGAN

THE FIRST REPORTS ON THE PEOPLE of the two peninsulas now known as Michigan began to enter the annals of the European world in the year 1636, when Gabriel Sagard published his *Histoire du Canada* in which he mentioned the discoveries of a young Frenchman by the name of Étienne Brulé. Brulé, with a companion surnamed Grenoble, had been sent by Samuel de Champlain to explore the west. They are believed to have reached the rapids of the St. Mary's River at what is now Sault Ste Marie probably in 1622. The Indians they met at Sault Ste Marie spoke a language like that of the tribes along the Ottawa River far to the east in Canada. The name of one of these Ottawa River tribes was Algonkin. The early French explorers applied the name "Algonkin" to all the Indians of the upper Great Lakes region who spoke a language similar to this tribe.

The whole region from the headwaters of the Mississippi River to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River was inhabited in 1600 by three different linguistic and tribal stocks, each with its distinctive language and associated economic, social, and religious customs. These were the Iroquois, who inhabited the lands south of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and the peninsula between Georgian Bay and Lake Erie; the Sioux, who lived along the upper Mississippi and had a detached group, the Winnebago, in eastern Wisconsin; and the Algonquians. The latter comprised one of the two or three largest linguistic groups in North America. The Algonquian area extended from the coast of the Atlantic to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and from Hudson's Bay to the Ohio River. The Iroquois intruded into this great area from the south and separated its central part from that of New England.

Among the Indians of the Great Lakes region, a tribe numbered from a few hundred to several thousand individuals. A tribe was a loose organization, which had little or no formal territorial

claims. Although such a group might stay in one general region for centuries, it was often on the move within it, and sometimes, as occurred with the Ottawa after 1615, it might leave it permanently. The French often called the various tribes nations, as the Ottawa nation, or the Miami nation.

If a tribe had been in existence for several centuries, most or all of its members would be related by blood, and certain bodily characteristics, such as height and facial appearance, would become common. The members of a tribe all spoke the same language and were governed by one set of customs. Both language and customs might be unique for a given tribe, or might be common to a number of separate tribes. As an example of the latter situation, the several Algonquian tribes of Michigan and the adjoining areas all spoke dialects of the same language, though some dialects were so different their speakers could not understand one another.

In early times the Algonquian tribes of Michigan all lived in a type of house that was oval and dome-shaped, which was made of bark or matting or the skins of animals laid over bent poles. Inheritance was in the male line in all these tribes. In sharp contrast, the Iroquois tribes spoke a completely different language, lived in bark houses that were rectangular in outline, and inheritance was in the female line. There were many other differences between these two peoples.

As was the case with many primitive peoples, each Algonquian and Iroquois tribe was divided into smaller units called clans. The clans were usually named after some animal, bird, or plant; though sometimes, as among the Ottawa in historic times, they had such names as star, water, thunder, and mountain. Among the Algonquians one belonged to the clan of his father; among the Iroquois to that of his mother. Each clan comprised a number of families.

A man might have more than one wife. Among both Iroquois and Algonquian one's spouse must be from some clan other than one's own. In addition to blood relatives, there were specially prescribed clan relatives with certain obligations in the way of behavior. The clans were usually grouped into two or more larger units which are today called phratries in the technical literature on the subject. Their function was mainly political.

In 1650 the Indians of Michigan and of all North America were

in an early stage of the Neolithic Period comparable to that in the main stream of technological progress between 7000 and 4000 B.C. in the lands around the eastern Mediterranean Sea. This means, among other things, that the Indians practiced agriculture where the climate allowed it; that their most efficient knives, arrowheads, and axes were made of stone; and that they knew how to make dishes and pots of baked clay. The northern tribes, like the Chippewa and Menominee, laid less emphasis on agriculture and subsisted more by hunting and fishing. They gathered plant foods, such as wild rice, that were plentiful without cultivation. The Potawatomi and Miami depended to a considerable extent on the buffalo for meat and clothing.

In sharp contrast to the Algonquian tribes generally, the Iroquois were farmers, and around their villages were large fields of corn, squash, and beans. The dishes they prepared often were flavored with fish. At Michilimackinac after 1701, the price of corn rose sharply because the Huron, an Iroquois tribe, who had always grown a great deal of it, had gone to Detroit. The Iroquois appear to have been southerners who brought a comparatively mature agriculture into the Great Lakes region, and they were more provident in storing food over the winter than such northern Algonquian tribes as the Chippewa and Ottawa, who usually had to hunt all winter because the meager products of their gardens were consumed by autumn.

None of the Indians of this region could use the natural resources to make good, solid dwellings. The houses were all of elm or birch bark, or the skins of large animals spread over poles set in the ground. These were flimsy affairs, without chimneys or windows, and they were all firetraps. The Indians could not split a tree trunk to make a solid plank, and they do not appear to have thought of setting one boulder on another to make a stone wall.

Although the people who lived in this region two thousand years ago and buried their dead in mounds could weave a cloth that was suitable for clothing, the nearest the Indians of 1650 came to that art was the weaving of baskets and matting. Their clothes were the skins of animals, such as buffalo, deer, and moose. The only power they knew how to harness was that of a bent wooden



AN OTTAWA CANOE

Drawings by Lieut. J. C. Tidball, U. S. A., from Henry R. Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1855).

BUILDING A CHIPPEWA LODGE



rod that sent an arrow flying, and that given by the water to a canoe in its current.

Their inventiveness in utilizing power beyond that of their own muscles was applied almost altogether in the supernatural realm. They were forever trying to gain control over the food supply, the weather, and over impending misfortunes by the inducement of visions through fasting when by our standards they were already starving a good share of the time. Their methods of curing illness were more often than not based on magic and sleight-of-hand directed at imaginary beings and forces. In warfare they were more assiduous in eating the heart of a brave enemy in order to absorb his courage, than in devising effective techniques of attack.

The culture of both the Algonquian and Iroquois in the seventeenth century was static. About all they knew was what was handed down by one generation to another. The archaeological record going back two millennia suggests little technological change. The most important change, the virtual loss of the use of copper, was retrogressive. By 1600 the Indians of Michigan were no longer using copper. In the same period there were advanced cultures in Mexico where, although the Indians were still technically Neolithic, architecture in stone was developed, and the mixing of copper and tin to make bronze, a superior metal, was known though not widely used.

The Indians of Michigan were far from the centers of the most highly developed New World cultures, and like all marginal peoples they were backward in some ways. They did not lack energy and intelligence. Their backwardness resulted from the conditions of their lives. They were dwellers in the forest in small social units far apart. Neither political nor religious authority was sufficiently centralized to require large buildings of stone, nor to organize the labor of their construction. The Indians had no incentive to melt and cast the copper that was so plentiful around Lake Superior because they could find all they needed in pure nugget form and it was easily pounded into the shape of tools. They failed to mix it with tin ore to make bronze because there was no tin in the region.

The Indians of 1700 did not differentiate as sharply as ourselves between animate and inanimate objects nor between human

beings and other living things. There are many myths and observances with respect to the animals or natural objects after which clans were named to illustrate these attitudes. There were probably few adults who were skeptically-minded, for as children they were accustomed to seeing their parents and all adults made up to look like animals and birds, or talking to their carcasses in most respectful terms, and performing in persuasive and solemn symbolisms the rites upon which sometimes seemed to depend the very existence of all the people.

The chief character in the mythology of the Algonquians was Manabozho. There are several different spellings of the word, and much variation in the details of his exploits. One of these is an account of the origin of the earth, in which Manabozho is in the top of a tree surrounded by a flood, or floating on the water on a piece of bark with some animals. The creation of the land usually involves the sending of the otter or loon or beaver down to the bottom for some mud, and after their failures the muskrat finally succeeds. To us the muskrat is a rather humble animal compared to the otter, loon, or beaver. His success where they failed may have been the chief dramatic element to the Indians.

There is no reason to suspect Christian influence in the legend, as a good many of the cosmologies of primitive peoples involve a flood, out of which the land emerged. In addition to being a hero, Manabozho is often presented as highly mischievous and clever. This is the trickster complex found also among other Indian tribes of North America. Andrew J. Blackbird, an educated Ottawa, translates Manabozho as clown. The legends, which were and still are recited at storytelling gatherings, are often colored with what we would call obscenities, but the Indians had no Puritan background and such things did not seem objectionable to them. Consistent with this is the complete lack of any profanity in the Algonquian language.

When the old folkways were still unbroken by contact with the whites, fasting was one of the major experiences of children. At a certain age the child was instructed to go out alone into the woods and abstain from food until he, or she, had a dream, or a vision, or had heard a voice. There was no forced imagination in this; it was a very real thing. The dream usually came, as could be expected

under the circumstances, and the child took its name from the thing seen or heard, and acquired a philosophy of life in relation to it.

This method of drawing upon the resources of the unconscious was practiced also by adults and it was an important source of strength over the problems of life, though it was sometimes exploited dishonestly by professional medicine men. Usually the efficacy of the dream was the acquiring of power, the power of the animal or thing dreamed about, by the one who established rapport in that way.

This search for power of some sort lay at the foundation of the Indian's attitude toward his whole environment. The power sought is derived from the dream obtained by fasting, and power is part at least of the meaning of the word Manitou, which is so well known in the Great Lakes region. It signified something beyond human capability, a mysterious quality, and something to be wondered at. There were individual manitous which might be animals or objects, and they were chiefly good, but some were bad. Manitou could be in the thunder or in the sunset, and here there seems to be something of our own ideas of grandeur and beauty in the Indian word. One often runs across the phrase Gitchi Manitou in books about the Indians. Gitchi means "great." The two words together form the native term for the Christian God. It is not likely that the Algonquians or any other Indians in prehistoric times entertained the concept of one, single supreme being.

There were magicians who foretold the future and attempted the healing of the sick, but they in no way regularly interpreted to child or adult the meaning of his relationship to the guardian spirit or to other supernatural beings or forces. These relationships were personal; they were interpreted and elaborated upon by the individual.

There are many accounts of the strong feeling for the independence of the individual among the Algonquian tribes. Individual independence was carried so far that there was little authority in the civil chieftainship; and even in warfare, when concerted action was necessary, united action was sometimes brought about not by the leadership of a war chief, but by everyone having the same impulse at once in response to the needs of the moment.

The Algonquian tribes of the upper Great Lakes area in the



A CHIPPEWA MEDICINE MAN — A nineteenth-century herbalist treats a patient.

From Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1885-86 (Washington, 1891).

seventeenth century were, from the Mississippi River east, the Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, Fox, Potawatomi, Sauk, Miami, Kickapoo, Wea, Mascoutins, and Piankeshaw. In the east along the north shore of Georgian Bay and on the upper Ottawa River were various groups such as the Missisagi and Nipissing which sometimes have been called branches of the Chippewa and sometimes have been described as independent tribes. The Ottawa at first were along the upper portion of the Ottawa River in Canada. Of all of these tribes those most closely associated with the area that has come to be known as Michigan are the Chippewa or Ojibway, the Potawatomi, the Miami, and the Ottawa. The only tribe of Iroquois

stock known to have had a permanent home in Michigan was the Huron, although archaeological evidence suggests that there were Iroquois invasions across the Detroit River and some thirty miles westward as long ago as one thousand years.

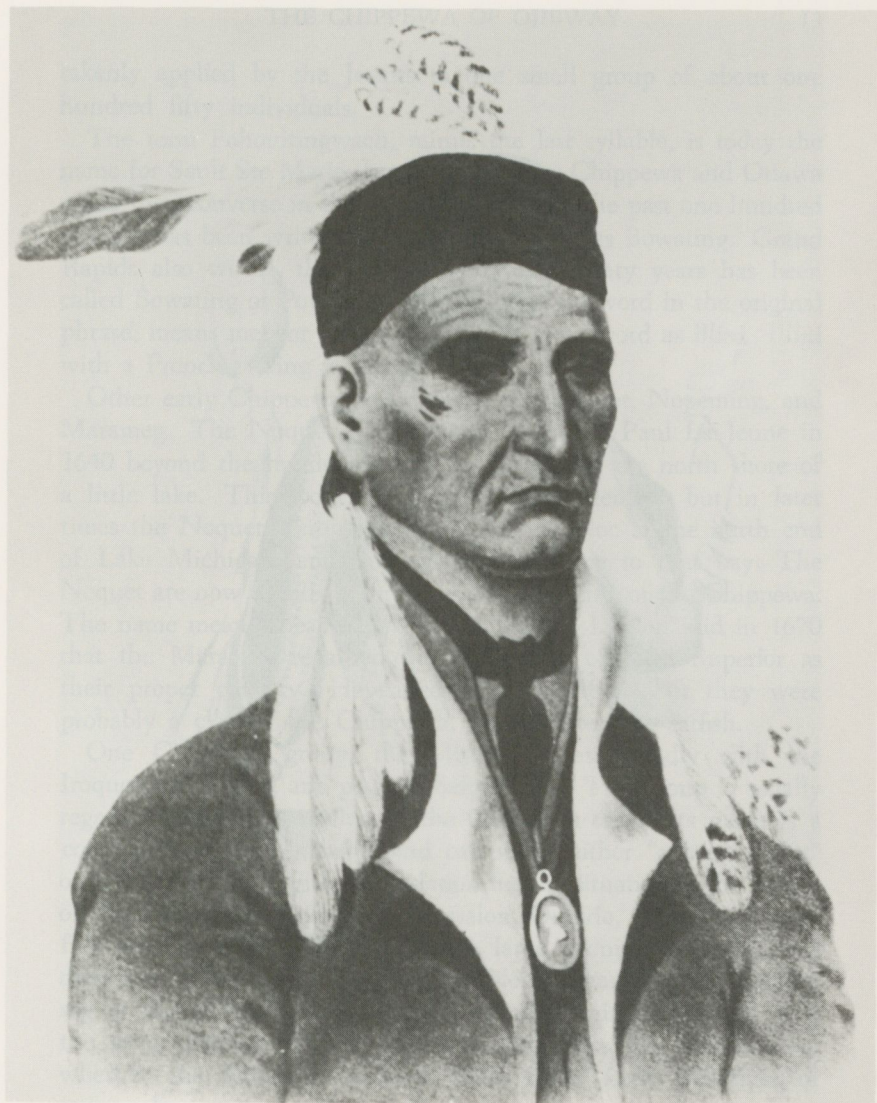
The early French did not use the term "Indian." Their term for the native peoples was "Savages," a word which does not have the meaning in French of being bloodthirsty and cruel but of being uncultivated. In the letters of the Jesuits and government officials, the native groups were usually referred to by their special tribal or band names, such as Ottawa, Fox, Amikwa, or Noquet. Many of the names of isolated bands or clans in the early literature are no longer in use. The tribal affiliations of some are unknown, and the spellings of all these names in use today are standardizations of a considerable variety of forms current up to 1800. Thus Chippewa appears in the early accounts as Otchipoy, Otchipwe, Ojibway; Potawatomi as Poux; and Menominee as Malomenis. The names of tribes and bands are sometimes those which other tribes or the French used, and not those which the tribes called themselves. The word Iroquois is Algonquian with the French ending *ois*. The meaning is "real serpents," that is, "bitter enemies." Algonquian is said to be a Micmac word meaning "at the place of spearing fish," that is, the front end of a canoe. The name Fox is really the name of one clan of that tribe. The French happened to meet this clan first and called the whole tribe by its name. The Fox called themselves "red earth people," but to the other Algonquian tribes they were known as Outagami, that is, "people of the other shore."

THE CHIPPEWA OR OJIBWAY

The first native group to be seen by Europeans in the region now known as Michigan were Chippewa at the present site of Sault Ste Marie. Brulé and Grenoble are believed to have made their acquaintance there by 1622. Jean Nicolet may have seen them there again in 1634. In 1641 a number of Chippewa from Sault Ste Marie attended an important Indian ceremony on the east shore of Georgian Bay in Ontario. At this meeting they invited the French to come and visit them. As a result, the Jesuits Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault arrived at Sault Ste Marie in the fall of 1641 after seventeen days of canoe travel. These events were recorded in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1642 where the Indians were referred to by the French term *Saulteur*, which is a translation of the Indian phrase *pahouitingwach irini*, that is, "people of the falls." The two Frenchmen found a settlement of about two thousand people at the rapids of the St. Mary's River, on the Michigan side. In addition to *Saulteur*, other terms used by the French to refer to the Chippewa included *Outchibous*, *Noquet*, and *Marameg*.

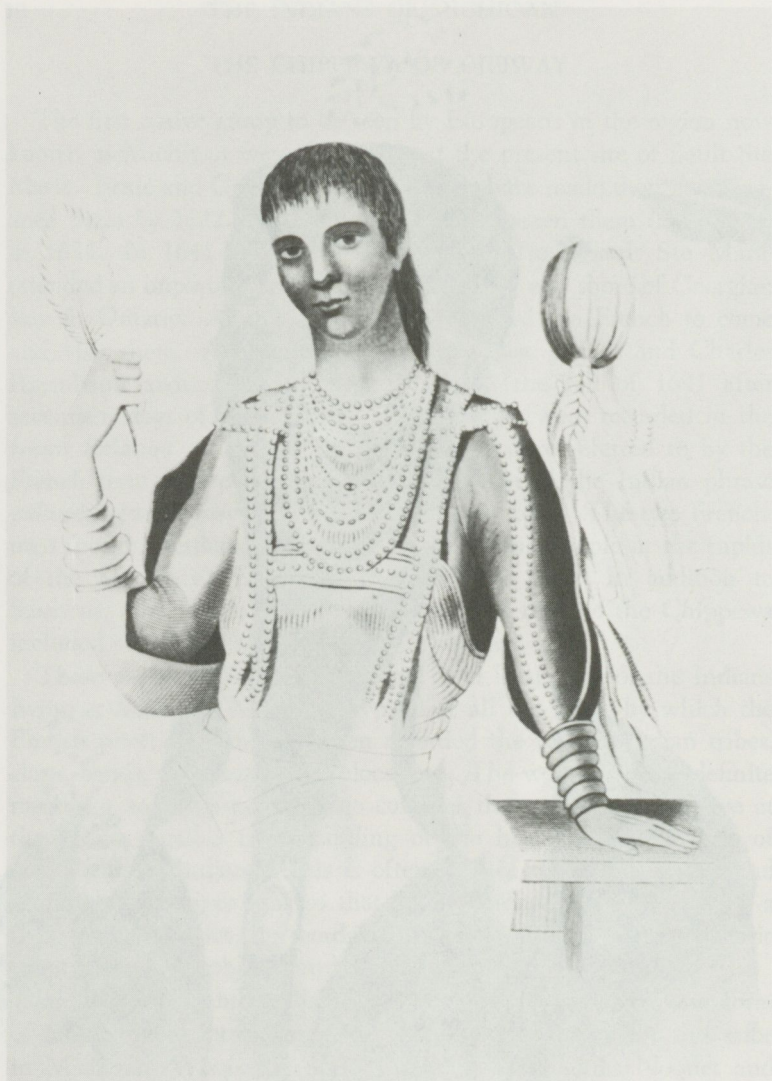
These variations in the early name of at least some of the Indians living at Sault Ste Marie are typical of all the terms by which the French priests and military men recorded the various Indian tribes, clans, bands, and geographical locations. The words all have definite meanings and it is necessary to consider them if one is to arrive at the fullest possible understanding of the historical background of the Michigan Indians. This is often true of other than tribal and geographical designations so that history becomes to some extent a matter of linguistics, for words are all that is left of earliest historic times besides the objects underground.

The term *Outchibous* is the same word as *Ojibway*, one form of which is the term *Chippewa* that is in use today for this tribe in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The terms *Noquet* and *Marameg* are clan or band names. The term *Saulteur*, with its geographical connotation, may have been applied to a band made up of individuals from several different clans who were gathered at Sault Ste Marie, as were all the Indians there, for the fishing; or it may have been the name of a separate clan; and it is even possible that the term was a general one for the whole settlement, mis-



SHINGABAWOSSIN – A Chippewa Chief at Sault Ste Marie in the early nineteenth century.

From Thomas McKenney and James Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America (Philadelphia, 1838).



A CHIPPEWA GIRL

From Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes of the United States.

takenly applied by the Jesuits to one small group of about one hundred fifty individuals.

The term Pahouitingwach, minus the last syllable, is today the name for Sault Ste Marie that is used by the Chippewa and Ottawa when they converse in their own tongue. For the past one hundred years it has been written in a simplified form as Bowating. Grand Rapids also within the last one hundred twenty years has been called Bowating or Powating. *Irimi*, the second word in the original phrase, means men or people, and is the same word as *illini*. *Illini* with a French ending is Illinois.

Other early Chippewa groups were the Noquet, Nopeming, and Marameg. The Noquet were located by Father Paul Le Jeune in 1640 beyond the rapids at Sault Ste Marie on the north shore of a little lake. This locality is impossible to identify, but in later times the Noquet were around Big Bay de Noc at the north end of Lake Michigan, and they gave their name to that bay. The Noquet are now usually regarded as the Bear clan of the Chippewa. The name means "bear foot." Father Claude Dablon said in 1670 that the Marameg regarded the north side of Lake Superior as their proper country. He called them a nation, but they were probably a clan of the Chippewa, named after the catfish.

One Chippewa group, the Missisagi, was friendly with the Iroquois after 1675, and perhaps before then. This group is usually regarded as the Crane clan of the Chippewa tribe. Its name is a compound of two elements and can mean either "a large outlet" or "several outlets." Either translation fits the situation at the mouth of the Missisauga River near Thessalon, Ontario, where they were first seen in 1634. The river has a large opening or outlet, and there are two entrances to it from the North Channel. The element *sag* in the word expresses the idea of an opening or outlet. It is the same element that is present in Saginaw. No one can say whether the Missisagi received their name from the river or conversely.

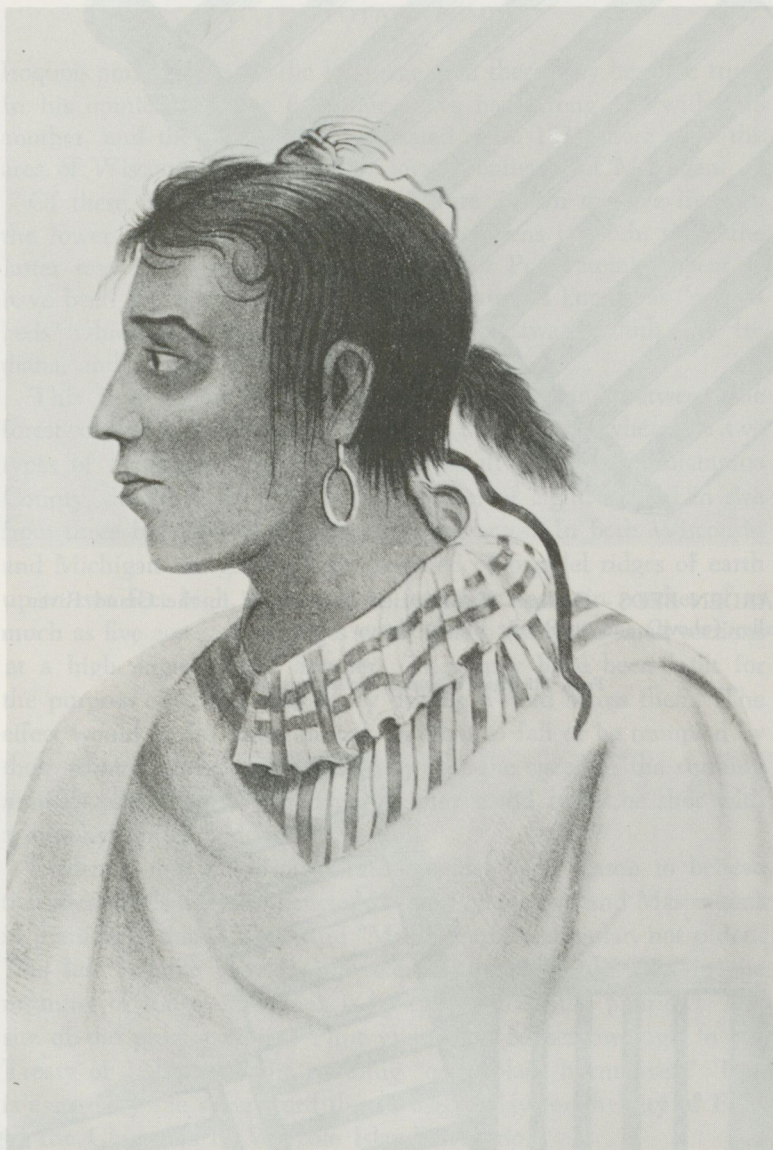
The Missisagi at times were found in Michigan. The Jesuit Henry Nouvel visited a band of Missisagi in the winter of 1675 at a place he described as being a few days journey from his headquarters in the Midland area. They were probably along the St. Clair River or on an island near its north end, since we know

they were living there in 1708. Because they were friendly with the Iroquois, the Missisagi could live in an exposed place like that along the St. Clair River. This tribe, or sub-tribe, became the seventh member of the Iroquois League in 1746, but the alliance was terminated at the beginning of the French and Indian war in 1756. After the War of the Revolution, the Missisagi settled in the region of Toronto. Around 1796 they were with the Seneca, who were Iroquois, in northeastern Ohio. In 1849 they accepted a grant of six thousand acres from the Iroquois of the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. There are about four hundred Missisagi still living there.

THE POTAWATOMI

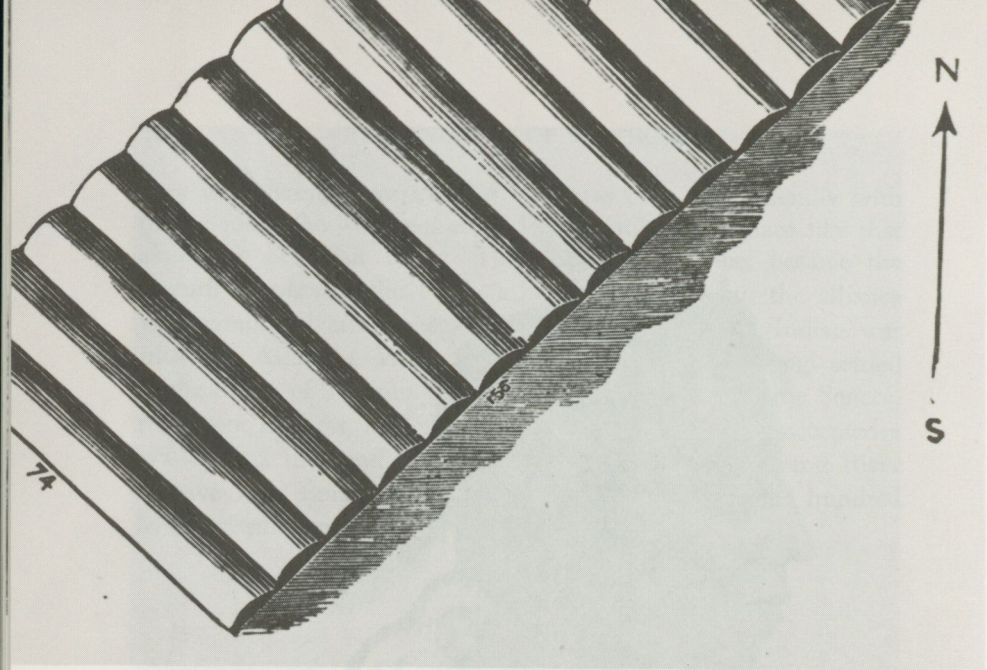
After 1700 the Potawatomi, or at least part of that tribe, were in southwestern Michigan as permanent residents. Notice of this tribe may have reached Champlain in 1616, but not under the name by which they are now known, and it is very doubtful if they were in Michigan at that time. In 1616 Ottawa Indians at French River in Ontario told Champlain they were at war with a tribe about six hundred miles away on the shores of Lake Huron. The name of this people was given as Asistagueronon. This is an Iroquois word meaning "people of the place of the fire." In the past century it has come to be accepted that these were the Potawatomi, partly because the latter name has a close resemblance to the Chippewa word for building a fire, *bodaweh*. This identification is probably correct, but the supposition that went along with it that the Potawatomi in 1616 were in the lower peninsula of Michigan appears to be incorrect. They must have been in eastern Wisconsin where, according to the Jesuit Barthelemy Vimont, they had been seen in 1634 by Jean Nicolet, who called them, in Vimont's rendering, *Pouutouatami*.

J.N.B. Hewitt of the Bureau of American Ethnology thought that the term *Asistagueronon* was a collective term for five Algonquian tribes: the Mascoutens, Fox, Sauk, Potawatomi, and Nas-souaketon. The latter was an Ottawa clan or band. Hewitt was an



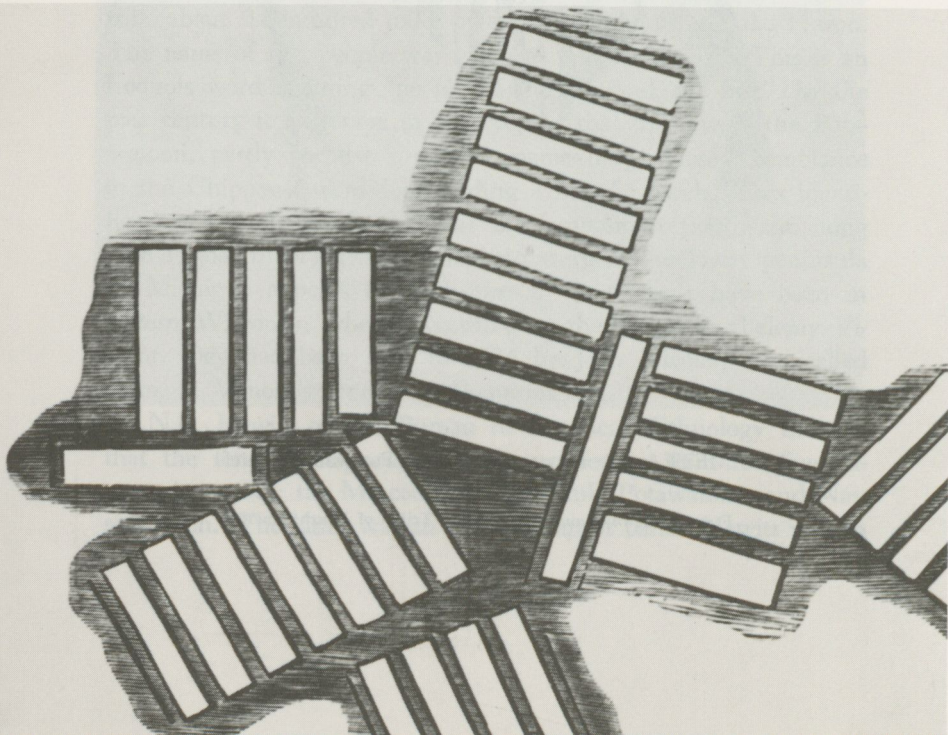
METEA — A nineteenth-century Potawatomi chief.

From McKenney and Hall, Indian Tribes of North America.



GARDEN BEDS — Outlines of an ancient garden bed in the Grand River Valley (above) and on Prairie Ronde (below).

From Michigan Historical Collections, vol. 2.



Iroquois and understood the language, and there may be some truth in his opinion, for the first four tribes had strong ties with one another, and they have been associated since 1630 more with the area of Wisconsin than with the lower peninsula of Michigan.

Of these four only the Potawatomi are known to have lived in the lower peninsula. They or the Mascoutens or both, since the latter may really have been a subtribe of Potawatomi, appear to have been the builders of a series of earthworks known as "garden beds" which are found from Kalamazoo westward, south into Indiana, and in central Wisconsin.

This is a region of small prairies, a borderland between the forest-covered east and the great prairies of the west, where the two types of landscape intermingle. The small prairies of Kalamazoo County, described in 1880 to the number of eight, ranged in size from three hundred to thirteen thousand acres. In both Wisconsin and Michigan the garden beds consisted of parallel ridges of earth up to two feet high, and three or four feet apart, in patches of as much as five acres. The ridges were almost always in small sections at a high angle to one another. They may have been built for the purpose of killing buffalo by driving a herd across them. The effect would be for those animals in front to fall or be trampled by those coming on behind, and in any case the speed of the running animals would be slowed down so they could easily be shot with arrows by hunters hidden in the grass.

Evidence of a linguistic nature provides good reason to believe that these grids were constructed by the Potawatomi and Mascoutens in prehistoric times. The word "Mascoutens" is singular, not plural. The last syllable provides the element of diminutiveness in the meaning of the word, which is "people of the little prairies." The site of the present city of Flint was called Muscutawaingh in the Treaty of 1819, with the meaning "open plain burnt over." This is essentially the same word that is used today for the city of Flint by the Chippewa of Walpole Island, Ontario.

The probability that Potawatomi has to do with fire has already been mentioned. There is a record that the Indians around Kalamazoo one hundred years ago called Prairie Ronde, one of the little prairies, "round fire-plain."

THE MIAMI

The Miami were first met by the French at the mouth of Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1657. They were then recorded as Oumamik. In 1671 this tribe, along with the Mascoutens, was around the headwaters of the Fox River in Wisconsin, but soon afterward the Miami moved to the Kalamazoo River and elsewhere in southern Michigan and farther south. Miami is said to mean "people who live on the peninsula." This designation probably arose at a time when the tribe lived on some point of land jutting out into one of the Great Lakes or a smaller lake. It is extremely unlikely that the Indians could identify peninsulas of the size of either of the two that now comprise Michigan. Miami was pronounced "meeaumee" with some slight variations, and it is this word that became the modern name of the Maumee River. It is said to be derived from the cry of a crane. This is probably true, for that sound, along with the calls of many other birds, filled the nights in the lowlands of the Maumee River where part of the tribe lived in 1711 and later. The Miami were called Twightwees by the English.

THE OTTAWA

The earliest known contact of a European with the Ottawa, or any part of that tribe, was by Champlain in 1615. This apparently took place along the upper Ottawa River east of Lake Nipissing, in Ontario. He called them Otaguottouemin. Later in 1615 Champlain met them again at the mouth of the French River, where about three hundred of the tribe were drying blueberries. Champlain called these people *Cheueux Releuez*, from the way in which the hair of the men, stiffened with bear's grease, was fluffed up as high on the head as it would stand.

The name Ottawa is today pronounced "Odahwah" with the second syllable accented by those of the tribe in Michigan. The name means "traders." The early French remarked upon how the Ottawas usually traveled encumbered with their goods and were not inclined to war. The goods were guns, powder, metal kettles, hatchets and knives, corn meal, sunflower oil, furs, mats, tobacco,

φ. 6.
f. 10.
Sauvage de La Nation
outaouaks.



Courtesy William L. Clements Library

AN OTTAWA OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY — A sketch by an unknown artist of the period.

medicinal roots and herbs, objects of purported magical properties, and slaves obtained from the Illinois Indians, who took them in their wars with tribes to the west.

By the mid-seventeenth century several Ottawa bands or clans had become known to the French. The Keinouche or Pickerel clan was reported in 1640 living on Allumettes Island in the northern Ottawa River, and were then known as the Kinouchepirini. The Sinago, constituting either the Black Squirrel or Gray Squirrel clan, was said to be on the south shore of Lake Huron in 1648; and the Kishkakon or Bear clan was at Green Bay around 1658 with about five hundred Hurons. A fourth clan, the Nassauaketon or "people of the forked river" was recorded in 1640 to be at Green Bay, the clan's name being incorrectly given as Rasaouakouton. Around 1700 there was a Sable band or clan at Michilimackinac. In 1695 they were referred to as the Outaouak of the Sable, that is, of a "sandy point of land." Between 1660 and 1670 the Keinouche, who gave their name to the city of Kenosha, Wisconsin, were at Chequamegon Bay at the present site of Ashland, Wisconsin, along with the Kishkakon and Sinago Ottawa.

The difficulty Europeans had in pronouncing or spelling Indian tribal or clan names is well illustrated by the name Necariages, which, in several different spellings, was applied from 1710 to 1747 to the Ottawa or to an Ottawa clan, or to their villages at Michilimackinac as follows: Negochendackirini, 1710, as a clan of the Ottawa; Neghkareage, 1723, as the name of two villages at Michilimackinac; Denighcariages, 1723, as a name for the Ottawa from Michilimackinac who were at Albany; Negheariages, 1723, as another name for the Ottawa from Michilimackinac at Albany; Necariages, 1747, where it appeared at St. Ignace on Cadwallader Colden's map. The name is the Iroquois word for beaver, and the Huron applied it to the Ottawa tribe as a whole evidently because in the original Huron territory just south of Georgian Bay their nearest Ottawa neighbors were the Amikwa, the beaver clan of the Ottawa, who were along the north shore of the North Channel of Lake Huron.

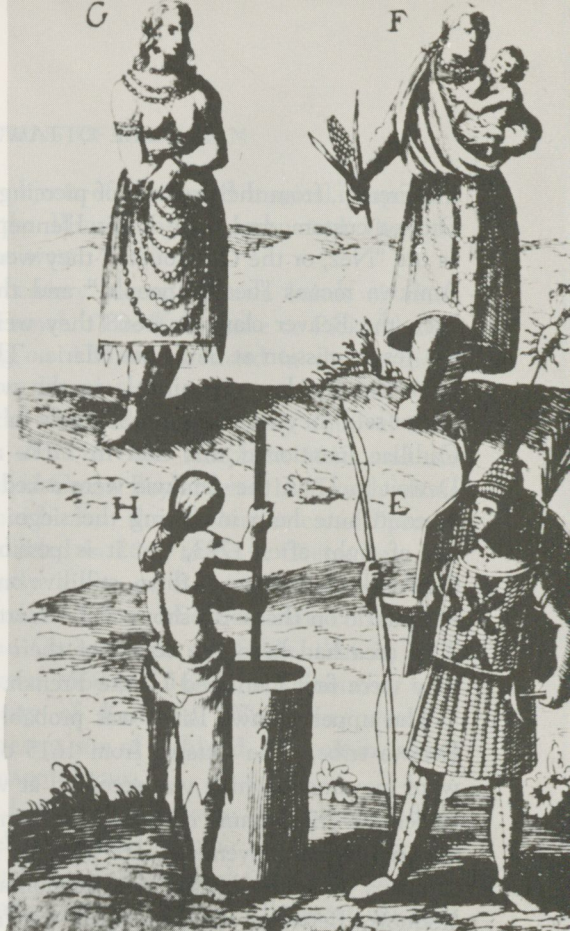
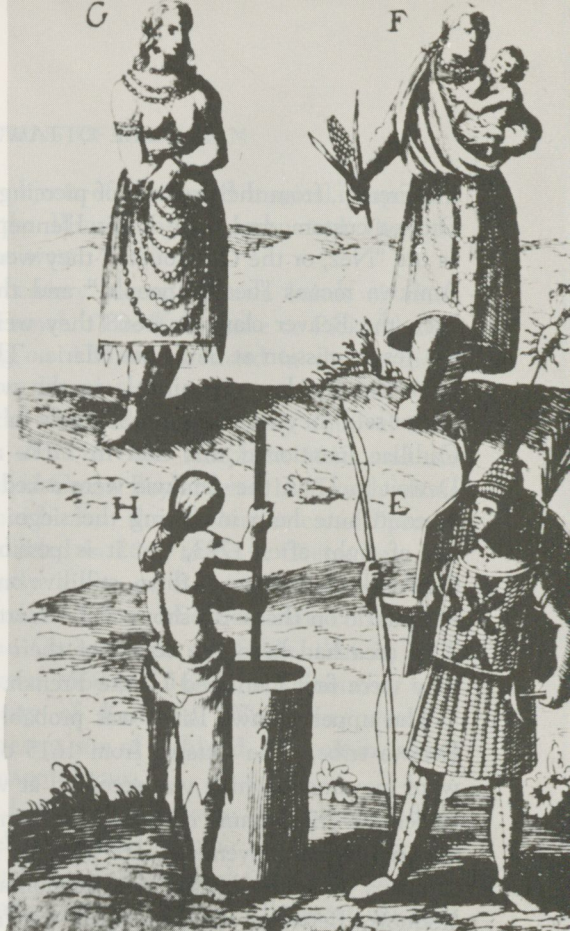
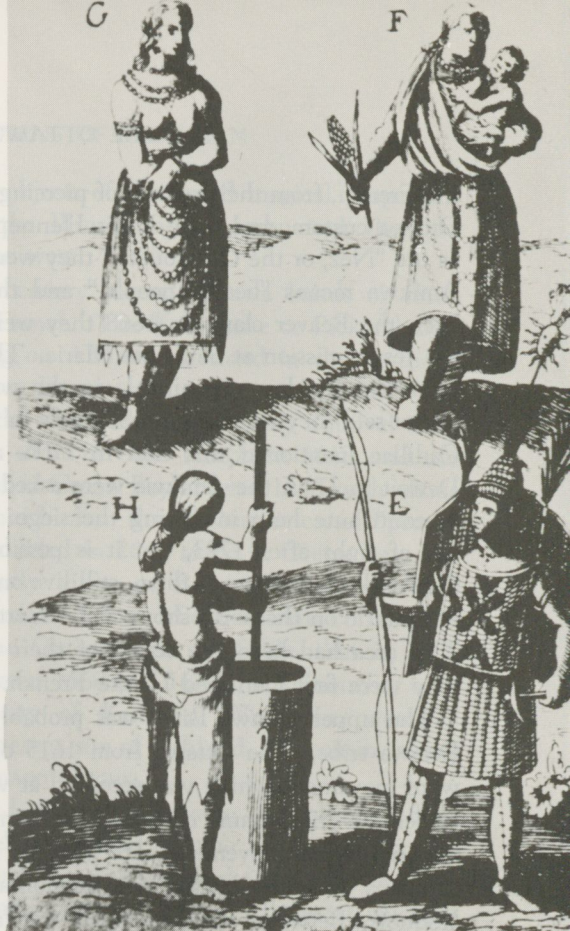
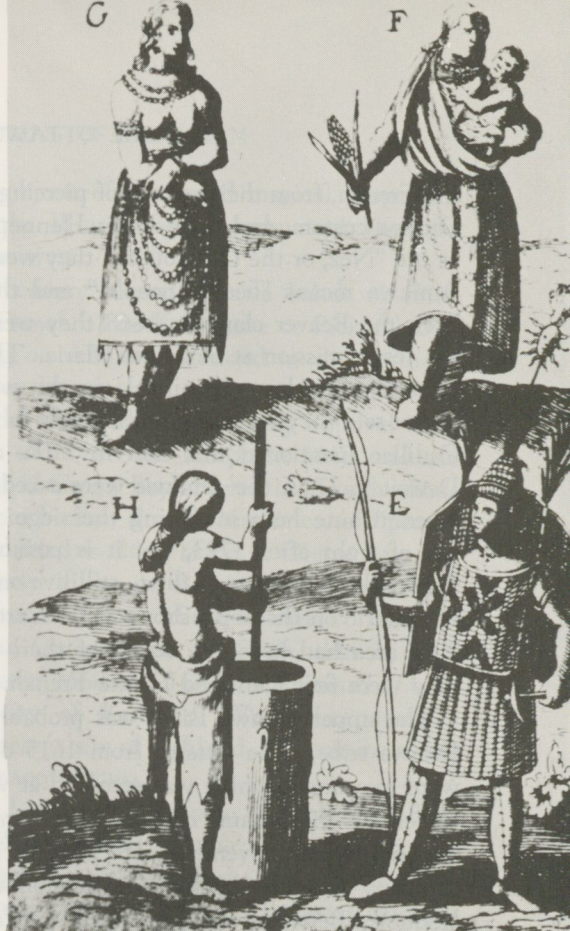
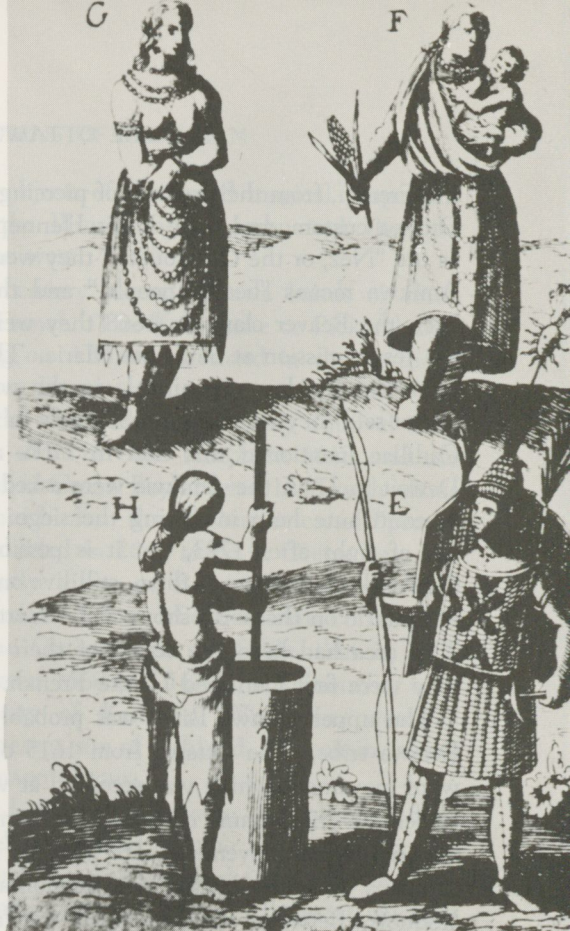
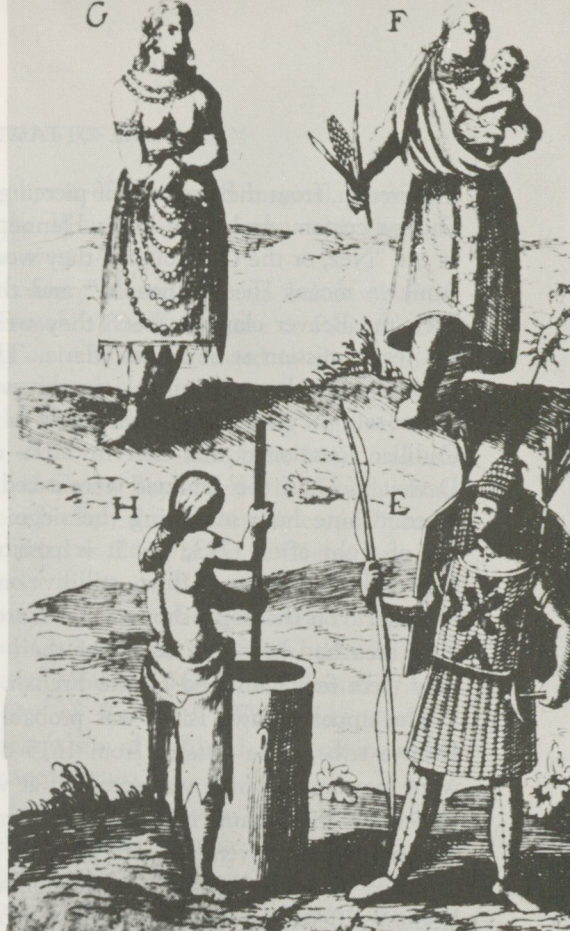
The Amikwa, one of the earliest-known groups in the upper Great Lakes country, were first described in 1636 as living in the Spanish River area of Ontario. They were then called *Naiz Percez* by

the French, from their custom of piercing the nose. This was also an Ottawa custom, and since Louis Hennepin referred to the Amikwa as the "Nez, or the Outtaouets," they were probably an Ottawa clan. Amikwa means "beaver people," and thus this group would have been the Beaver clan. In 1668 they were said to be dependent on the Jesuit mission at Sault Ste Marie. There were Amikwa hunting inland in the lower peninsula in the winter of 1675, and Nicolas Perrot said they were around Saginaw in 1689. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac mentioned this clan in 1706. When the Foxes besieged Detroit in 1712, the Amikwa were asked by the French commander to contribute help in raising the siege. The name Amikwa drops out of sight after 1723, but it is possible that the descendants of the Amikwa, or some of them, still live on the Spanish River Reserve in Ontario on the north shore of the North Channel of Lake Huron. This area had been the center of their activities since 1636, when they were first identified by the French.

The upper Ottawa River was probably the original home of the Ottawa tribe. The Ottawa from 1615 on were engaged in a westward movement which was recorded at various times by the French under the tribal name or under the names of bands or clans. The reason for this movement, which, after 1650, usually was made in company with the Huron and Tionontati, was the hostility of the Iroquois. Between 1648 and 1660 the latter attacked and virtually destroyed four tribes of their own linguistic stock, the Huron; the Attiwandaronk or Neutrals; the Tionontati, also called Huron de Petun, Huron of Tobacco, or more commonly Tobacco Nation; and the Erie or Cat Nation.

The Neutrals were dispersed by Iroquois attacks in 1651. Some eight hundred of them wintered in 1652-53 at Skenchioe near Saginaw Bay. There they disappear from history. The Erie came under attack in 1654 and by 1660 were almost all exterminated, and the tribal name ceased to be used. The fate of the Huron and the Tionontati will be described later.

The destruction of the Huron, the Tionontati, the Neutrals, and the Erie left the Ottawa exposed to Iroquois attack. The Chippewa appear to have been little affected by the threat of the Iroquois. Little is known of them before 1640, but they probably lived in



Illustrations of the dress of Huron men and women, as published in Champlain's *Voyages and Discoveries Made in New France, from the Year 1615 to the End of the Year 1618*.

the Upper Peninsula and along the north shore of Lake Superior and Lake Huron and so were not exposed to the ravages of the Iroquois.

THE HURON

The Huron entered history in the decade between 1534 and 1543 when Jacques Cartier found them along the lower St. Lawrence River from Montreal eastward. Even then they were in conflict with other tribes of their own linguistic stock. When Champlain came to the region in 1603 the Huron were gone. In 1611 he heard that they were in the Lake Huron region, and four years later he found them established in the Lake Simcoe area just south of Georgian Bay in eighteen towns with a population of about thirty thousand. They were still at war with the other Iroquois tribes to the southeast on the south side of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. By 1643 these Iroquois had managed to acquire about four hundred guns. Largely because of this they were able to destroy the power of the Huron. The Iroquois struck the Huron villages in 1648 and again in 1649. The Hurons scattered in wild flight.

Some of the survivors fled to Christian Island on Georgian Bay, where they spent the winter of 1649-50. Here most of them died of disease and famine. Some Hurons joined their neighbors, the Tionontati. Late in 1649 the Iroquois struck the Tionontati and dispersed them.

Many of the surviving Hurons on Christian Island and those who had gone to the Tionontati, together with the latter, took refuge with the Ottawa on Manitoulin Island in 1650. Soon the few surviving Hurons, the Tionontati, and the Ottawas fled first to Michilimackinac, and then to Green Bay, where they had the Potawatomi for neighbors. Later, still fearing the Iroquois, the three tribes moved westward to the Mississippi River and then to Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior, where they were in 1660. In 1670, fearing the Sioux, the wandering tribes moved eastward, the Ottawa to Manitoulin Island, the Huron and Tionontati to St. Ignace.

It was this Iroquois group that became the Huron of Michigan. Few of the original Hurons survived their troubles. In the *Jesuit*

Relations of 1669-70 the Huron at Chequamegon Bay are called Etionnontatehronnon and later there was a Huron village at Sandwich, Ontario, across the Detroit River, by name of Etionntiwil. The name which the Huron called themselves was Wendat, written in recent times more faithfully to the actual sound as Wyandot. Wyandot is said to mean "islanders," or "dwellers in a peninsula." This was also applied to the Michigan Huron.

Father Jacques Marquette wrote that there were 380 Tionnon-tateronnons and sixty Outaouasinagaux (Ottawa of the Sinago or Black Squirrel clan) at St. Ignace in 1672. The two tribes were to remain at Michilimackinac until the founding of Detroit in 1701. In 1679 the number of Hurons at St. Ignace was given as five hundred. The Ottawa of the Kishkakon clan were present there also.

In 1688 the Baron de Lahontan was at St. Ignace and wrote the following:

Here the Hurons and Outaouas have each of them a village; the one being severed from the other by a single pallisadoe; but the Outaouas are beginning to build a fort upon a hill, that stands but one thousand or twelve hundred paces off. This precaution they were prompted to by the murder of a certain Huron, called Sandaouires, who was assassinated in the Saguinan river by four young Outaouas.

This reference to a fort under construction by the Ottawa is of great interest. About half a mile straight west of the monument to Marquette in St. Ignace is a deep cut through a hill from side to side. It is about one hundred feet long, ten feet deep with a V-shaped cross section about fifteen feet wide at the top. It separates about eighty feet of the end of the hill from its main part. There is no record nor knowledge of the digging of this cut in recent times, but for the past seventy-five years, according to people now living in St. Ignace, it has been called the Old Fort, and has been during that time a point of interest where the townspeople have gone for picnics and sight-seeing trips. Close examination of the ground in 1959, including excavation, provided no sign that this place was ever occupied. Lahontan's statement that the Ottawa were beginning to build a new fort makes it appear likely that this trench represents that work, and that the project was never completed.

The writer knows of no accounts of Indians in the lower peninsula before 1675 when a few Amikwa, Nipissings, Hurons, and

Openagoes spent the winter hunting in the vicinity of Midland. Henry Nouvel was with them as their missionary. The Nipissings with Nouvel were women. They were married to the Openagoes. Openago is a term with a vague meaning, but in the form Abenaki it was the name of a confederacy along the Atlantic Coast. The actual translation is Easterners. Delaware Indians around Detroit after 1700 were called Openago by Cadillac. Thus the Openagoes with Nouvel might have been Delawares, or Hurons, or of some other tribe.

The Indians of Nouvel's ministry in 1675 came in the late autumn mainly from the Amikwa villages along the north shore of the North Channel and at Michilimackinac. The others joined them along the way. They were doing their winter hunting far back in the woods in accord with the custom of all the northern tribes of Algonquian stock. But it is likely that they chose this region, remote from the well-traveled shores of the Great Lakes, because they would not be found there by the Iroquois. They were found once, in 1686, but only by the treachery of a Huron named Scoubache, who delivered seventy of his tribesmen to the Iroquois while they were hunting in the Saginaw country. But in 1688 a number of Hurons, using Fort St. Joseph at the present site of Port Huron as a base, took their revenge. They made a foray against the Iroquois on the south shore of Lake Erie and returned with plunder.

When the two Sulpician priests, Francois Dollier de Casson and René de Brehan de Galinée went by canoe up the Detroit River to Michilimackinac in 1669, they saw the remains of campfires near the present village of Gibraltar at the mouth of the Detroit River. The campfires had probably been made by Iroquois travelers.

The lower peninsula of Michigan was for the most part a sort of no man's land, an empty buffer zone between the Iroquois to the east and the Algonquian tribes—the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Mascoutens, and Miami—in eastern Wisconsin. Rumors and legends current after 1670 hint that some of these tribes had lived in the lower peninsula before 1650, and that they had been driven to the other side of Lake Michigan by the Iroquois.

THE INDIANS AND THE FRENCH

In the French period the territory now comprising the state of Michigan was ruled from the Palais de Saint-Germain at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, about twenty miles from Paris. The offices of the ministers of Louis XIV were there, and the decisions by which the French and the Indians of New France were governed were made there. One of the most important decisions was made in 1696. This forbade all Frenchmen except missionaries to go into the region of the upper Great Lakes. This regulation was intended to destroy the liquor traffic, which was working havoc among the Indians and making dissolute bush rangers of the sons of respectable farmers from Montreal and Quebec. The situation was especially bad at Michilimackinac, where Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac had been made commandant in 1694.

In 1701, with the permission of the king, Cadillac established Fort Pontchartrain on the present site of Detroit. The arguments he advanced for the establishment of a post at Detroit were that were the Indians to establish themselves at Detroit they could hunt for furs over a much larger territory; and that the military post would stop the flow of peltries to the English through the Iroquois east of Detroit.

Cadillac's strategy was effective. In 1701 the Iroquois Five Nations attempted to forestall him by ceding to the English king all their lands in northern New York and Ohio and even westward to Chicago. But the English were in no position to accept the responsibility offered them in any effective way.

By 1703 most of the Indians of Michilimackinac had gone to Detroit, which forced the Jesuits to abandon their mission at St. Ignace shortly thereafter. In 1712 the Huron village near the French fort at Detroit was reported to have had 180 warriors, which would indicate a total population of around five hundred. These Indians had cleared 112 acres of land.

At Detroit, in their villages around Fort Pontchartrain, were the Hurons and Ottawas; some of the Nipissings and Miami; and also Oppenago or Wolves, current terms for the Delaware tribe; Saulteur from Sault Ste Marie; and Amikwa from Michilimackinac. The main body of the Miami was either on the Kalamazoo River or

the Maumee River at La Glaize, Ohio. Some Missisagi were reported at Detroit at this time. More of them were reported in 1708 and 1712 to be on an island at the head of the St. Clair River.

All of the Huron and Ottawa did not remain permanently at Detroit. In 1723, eighty Indians with their families traveled from Michilimackinac to Albany. They were joined on the way by others at Detroit. The purpose of this trip was to inquire about the possibilities of trade with the English. The Huron had made the same trip as least twice before; and so also had the Miami.

At Albany the Ottawa and Huron said they lived in six villages at Michilimackinac, and their names are of interest. One was named Ronawadanie, which is Iroquois for "great turtle." There was a Huron clan called Great Turtle, and this village must therefore have been the settlement of that clan. Another village bore the name Tienondaideauga, which appears elsewhere in the forms Teijaondoraghi, in 1726; and Tecodondoraghie in 1763. This is the same word as Ticonderoga, which is an Iroquois word meaning "where waters meet." At Michilimackinac, Tienondaideauga was a Huron village. It probably was on the south side of the strait at the present site of Mackinaw City. Hennepin's map shows a Huron village there in 1679, and this was a place where such a name would have been used. The old Algonquian name Michilimackinac probably also arose as a name for the strait rather than the island.

Another village, Kajienotroene, may also have been a Huron village, as the word, which means "eagle people," does not seem to be Algonquian. But the Ottawa had two clans named after the eagle. Two villages were named Neghkareage. They were Ottawa, for this is the same word as Necariages, previously noted as the Huron term for the Ottawa. The name Onnighsiesanairone, another village, may be the same as Neghkareage. All of the Ottawa villages and perhaps one or more of the Huron were probably at St. Ignace. A great deal of early historic Indian material has been found there in the past century. Though Mackinac Island was said to have been one of the refuges of the Huron in their flight from the Iroquois after 1650 the Huron were probably not there in 1723, for the Iroquois no longer threatened them.

From 1701 to 1760 most of the events in which the Michigan Indians were concerned centered around the growing settlement at

Detroit. Things were not always peaceful among the Michigan Indians. There was often violence. As much as the Huron and Ottawa had traveled around together, they often quarreled. There was a great deal of jealousy and intrigue among the tribes so closely gathered at Detroit.

This was the period of conflict between the English and French for the fur trade of the Indians. The English appear to have been responsible for most of the outright violence. The French were in full control of the St. Lawrence Valley, of the lands around the upper Great Lakes, and of the area southward down the Mississippi River. The English were hemmed in along the New England coast and inland to the Hudson River. Their natural avenue of expansion was westward. These conditions made it inevitable that the English and the French would come into conflict in the region now covered by Ohio, Indiana, southern Michigan, and Illinois.

The Indians there were ancient enemies of the Iroquois of New York, who had allied themselves with the English, and so these two large and hostile tribal groups operated within the strategies of their separate and often tenuous allegiances to the French and English. In this situation Detroit and Albany reached for one another from the opposite ends of the Iroquois territory, like two men fencing with fish poles across an unbridgeable chasm.

At Detroit in 1706 there was fighting that lasted two months between the Ottawa on one side and the Miami and Huron on the other. The hostilities seem to have been started by the Ottawa taking affront when the Miami were allowed to enter the fort. It later turned out that the English had engaged the chief of the Huron to persuade the Miami to destroy the Ottawa.

The siege of Detroit by the Fox and Mascoutens in 1712 was an affair in which again the English were in the background. These two tribes were troublesome to the French in Wisconsin. The English bribed them to attack Fort Pontchartrain and the Ottawa and Huron villages nearby. They came in the spring and camped close to the gates of the fort when most of the Indians were still away on their winter hunt. The fort was garrisoned by only about thirty soldiers. These were reinforced by about eight more soldiers who were sent by the Sieur de Vincennes from the Miami country in Indiana. At the same time a Potawatomi chief and his brother

arrived with the news that some six hundred Indians were on the way to reinforce the French. They were Potawatomi, Menominee, Illinois, Sauk, Missouri, and Osage from the region to the west and south of Lake Michigan.

There was fighting for nineteen days. Toward the end, the unburied dead in the fort of the Fox and Mascoutens made it unfit for the living. The besiegers left in the night and retreated some twelve miles to what is now Windmill Point in Grosse Pointe Park. The French and their allies followed them there and after four days the Indians killed all but the women and children of the Fox and Mascoutens.

We know the names of several Indians who were prominent in this war. Mikisabie was the war chief of the Potawatomi who told the French of the approach of Indian allies, and Tehamisimon was his brother. Saguina was an important chief of the Ottawa, and it was recommended that he be rewarded with two red blankets and a vest for having saved the French. It was customary, after fighting among the Indians, for one or more of them to go to Quebec and give explanations, and it was Koutaouiliboe and Ouilamek who made the journey. The latter was probably a Potawatomi; the tribe of the former is unknown.

As a result of the war with the Fox and Mascoutens, the French fort of Michilimackinac was regarrisoned to maintain closer relationships with the tribes of the region, especially with those of Green Bay, which included the Menominee and Winnebago.

Only a small part of the Fox tribe was destroyed at Detroit. The main body in Wisconsin soon made alliances with other tribes of that region in the attempt to stop the encroachments of the French. On one occasion the Detroit Indians attacked them at the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Later the Fox joined with the Sauk and fled to Iowa, and finally in 1740 the Fox wars were terminated by a change in French policy toward that tribe.

In the 1740's the Huron were poorly disposed toward the French. The English encouraged their chief Orontony, or Nicholas, in his effort to turn most of the tribes around Lake Michigan and Lake Superior against the French. There was violence at Detroit in 1747, but it was stopped before it got out of control by the disclosure of the plot to the French by a Huron woman, and Detroit was

again saved. The allies of the Huron deserted them in 1748, when Orontony and a part of his tribe were living near Sandusky, Ohio. The Huron fled from there southward along the Ohio River from where, after the death of Orontony in the same year, they returned to Sandusky and Detroit, where they became known as Wyandots. The tribe must have prospered as time went on, for during the War of 1812 there were twelve hundred Huron between Detroit and Monroe, thirteen hundred near Sandusky in Ohio, and two hundred on the Canadian side of the Detroit River.

Michilimackinac did not cease to be a gathering place for the Indians after Cadillac went to Detroit. Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, visiting St. Ignace in 1721, said that "several" Ottawa had followed Cadillac to Detroit and that others had gone to the Isles of Castor, that is, the Beaver Islands. They would not have gone to these islands unless they thought they were in some kind of danger on the mainland, though Charlevoix implied that some still remained at St. Ignace. In 1740 there were Ottawa at St. Ignace and there is a record that French authorities, learning of their intention to move elsewhere, recommended that they go to L'Arbre Croche, which was at or near the modern Cross Village on the shore of Lake Michigan in Emmet County.

The Ottawa probably followed this advice to move to L'Arbre Croche for they were there in 1763, with Neesawkee as chief. The recorded figure of 250 fighting men under his command at that time suggests a total population of close to a thousand people. The old villages of Goodhart and Middle Village, a short distance south of Cross Village, have been occupied by the Ottawa for the past century or more. In the last hundred or more years and perhaps since 1740, most of the Ottawa tribe have lived along the west side of the lower peninsula from Grand Haven to the Straits of Mackinaw, except those who went from the Cross Village area to the east end of Manitoulin Island, Ontario, in 1825. The descendants of these Ottawa are still there on the Wekwemikong Reserve. They number fifteen hundred or more. Manitoulin Island, which is nearly one hundred miles long, has been a favorite location of the Ottawa since 1640.

It was not until after 1703 that the Chippewa began to enter the lower peninsula. They kept mainly to the eastern half. The Mich-

igan Potawatomi entered the lower peninsula, as previously noted, after 1700, and have always since then lived in the southwest part except for a few villages which existed between Battle Creek and Detroit as late as 1850, and a settlement in the Upper Peninsula in Menominee County.

THE INDIANS AND THE ENGLISH

In 1760-61, with the final defeat of the French military forces in New France, French posts in Michigan passed into the hands of the English. After all the years of wavering between the one and the other, the tribes of the upper Great Lakes now quickly united in an attempt to restore the French, as least in the Middle West. The chief results in Michigan were the siege of Detroit and the sacking of the English fort at Mackinaw City with the massacre of its garrison. The leader of the Indians was Pontiac, an Ottawa, who was born about 1713 somewhere along the Maumee River in northern Ohio.

The Indian leaders understood that the relations between France and England in Europe had a bearing on the situation in North America and so did not find the French too much at fault for delivering their lands to the English. There seems to be little doubt that the Indians had a deep dislike for the English, who treated them as inferiors. When Indians went down to Montreal and Quebec to trade, the French had fed them at their own tables, and even had taken their daughters in marriage. Frenchmen in fact often adopted Indian ways in the upper country; and Frontenac himself, the governor of New France, had once danced a war dance on an expedition with Algonquian allies against the Iroquois. This was something no Englishman from the governor on down would ever have done.

Less fundamental causes of this effort to dislodge the English were present. The most important one was commercial, and it arose out of the desire of the French fur traders to continue in that line of business. There were many of these traders. The traders were powerful in the affairs of the Indians. Because the native chiefs were weak in authority, the traders sometimes created chiefs who would

be favorable to their interests. Some of the French traders were men of considerable courage and diplomatic ability who knew the Indian better than he knew himself. As could be expected, this group did everything possible to foster Pontiac's movement, even to the extent of delivering encouraging letters to Pontiac forged with the name of the French king. Another source of resentment against the English was their failure to distribute presents annually among their Indian allies, a custom closely followed by the French. But the English were to improve in that matter after 1763.

Pontiac drew fighting men from the upper Great Lakes and along the Ohio River. The fighting at Detroit began on May 10, 1763. The Ottawa fired the first shot. The tribes present, comprising about 620 men, were the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Huron, Chippewa, and Missisagi. On June 1, two hundred more Chippewa arrived from Saginaw. Shortly afterward a few Shawnee and Delaware from along the Ohio River joined the others.

On June 2 the English fort on the present site of Mackinaw City was taken by the Chippewa and most of its garrison massacred. It is recorded that about twenty English soldiers and traders survived. Most of them fell into the hands of the Ottawa at L'Arbre Croche who gave them protection and arranged for their safe passage to Montreal. The Ottawa were reportedly angry at being excluded from the plot to seize the fort, but it is a good guess that the commercially-minded Ottawa also were looking to the future when the English traders would return.

The siege of Detroit ended in October when Pontiac received a message from the French commander in Illinois that he could send him no help. The final treaty of peace with the Indians was made at Oswego, New York, on July 24, 1766.

THE INDIANS AND THE AMERICANS

The War of the Revolution did not at once affect the Indians of the Michigan country. The English were as much interested in the furs of the western forests as the French had been. But a new nation was now on the scene, and its common people, quite as dedicated to the independence of the individual as the Indians them-

selves, had different ideas about the hinterlands. The Americans were farmers, and freedom and expansion were in the air. The desire of the Indians to hold on to their forests met head on with that of the Americans to gain the soil in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. This battle took place August 20, 1794, in a swamp near Maumee, Ohio, where the trees had been laid in a windstorm. There General Anthony Wayne defeated a force of Indians from the upper Great Lakes region. The Battle of Fallen Timbers was most prophetically named, for its outcome was the signal to the New Englanders that they could soon come to the Ohio Valley with their stubby-bladed, short-handled axes and begin felling the forests. But in Michigan the sound of the axe and the smoke of the hardwood fires did not begin to fill the air until after 1825.

The Indians, under the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, made one more stand against the Americans, when, in the War of 1812, they sided with the British. Under Tecumseh there was a strong element directed at all encroachment by the whites and against some of their technology. The leader of this movement was Tecumseh's brother Elskwatawa, known also as the Prophet. The Prophet inveighed in addition against the traditional and widespread dependence of the Indians upon the magical practices of the medicine men, who by this time had come to form an almost over-riding caste. Two of the Prophet's disciples in Michigan were Le Magouis, or The Trout, of L'Arbre Croche; and Le Main Poque of the Potawatomi, a man congenitally disfigured in the left hand. In the absence of Tecumseh, the Prophet acted prematurely, and the Indians were defeated by the Americans in the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811.

When the War of 1812 began between the British and Americans, Tecumseh was able to enlist the Wyandot along the Detroit River under their chief Walk-in-the-Water, the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph River under their chief Chebainse, and the Ottawa at L'Arbre Croche whose chief was Little King or Black Hoof, and other Indians in the Straits of Mackinac region. The American fort at Mackinac Island was taken by the British with the help of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Sioux, Menominee, and Winnebago. Shortly after, in August, 1812, General William Hull surrendered Detroit to the British without a fight in order to save the civilian population from being massacred by the Indians. The following January, American

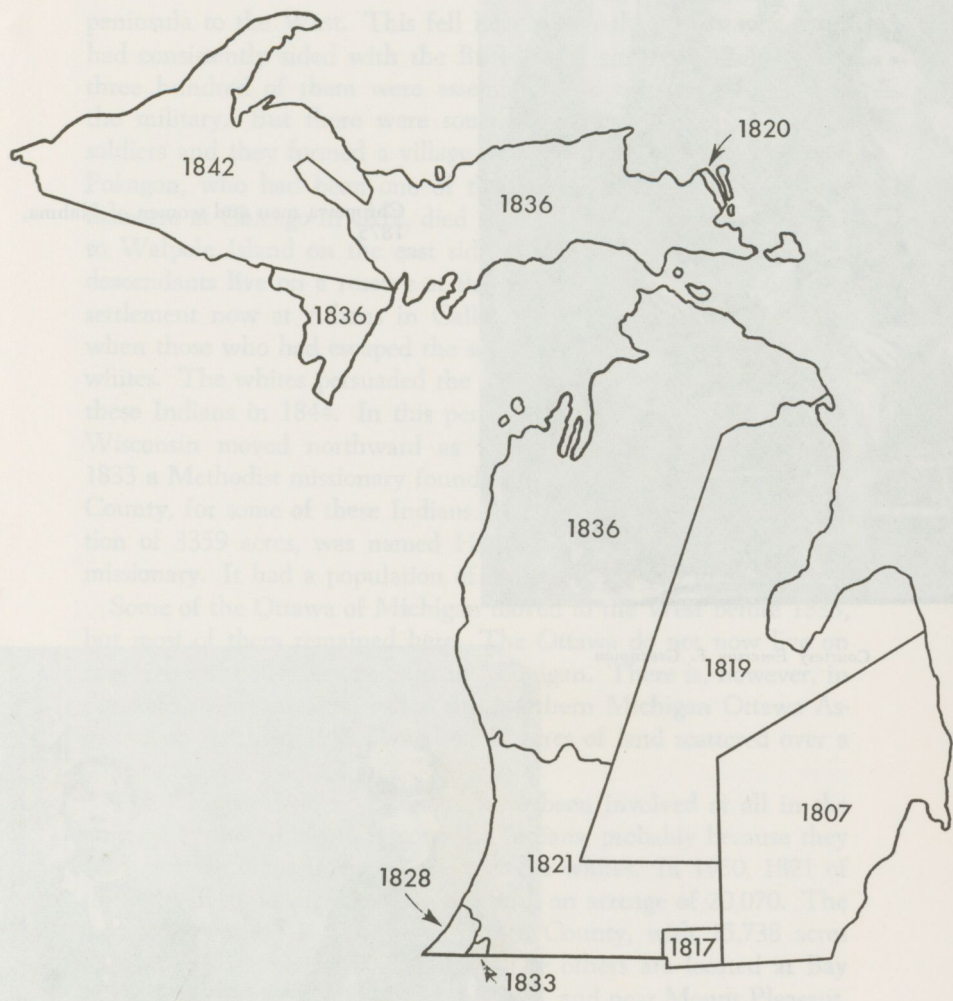
soldiers, mostly Kentuckians, who had been wounded in the battle of the River Raisin, were massacred by two hundred Indians at Frenchtown on the present site of Monroe. Finally at the battle of the Thames in Ontario Tecumseh lost his life, and the Indian cause in the Great Lakes area lost its last great champion.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE INDIANS

Soon after the War of 1812, the Miami began to leave their lands in western Ohio and the Wabash country. Many went to Kansas. Later they were removed to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. In 1840 the Miami ceded all their remaining land and agreed to their removal west. In 1865 only fifty-seven of this tribe were recorded as present in Indian Territory.

Between 1807 and 1842 the Indian tribes ceded all their lands in Michigan to the United States except those set aside as reservations. While the provisions of the treaties increased in number and complexity from the beginning to the end of the treaty-making period, certain provisions were common to the majority of those which dealt with Michigan, and they reveal the spirit of the negotiations whereby the Indians were legally divested of their lands. Grants of money, "annually forever," or for definitely stated periods, were made to entire tribes, and also to individuals, particularly important chiefs, and to Indians of mixed blood. According to the treaty of March 28, 1836, some of the latter were held in higher opinion than others, and while grants made to them were at the desire of their associates, that desire was sometimes created by the parties interested. Grants of money for definitely stated periods or "for as long as Congress may think proper" were also made for educational purposes, for medical purposes including the services of a physician, to liquidate the debts of the Indians, and for improvements made by the Indians on ceded lands. Sums of money assigned to the Indians were also invested in stocks. Stated sums were also specified in some of the treaties to be expended for provisions, agricultural machinery, horses, cattle, tobacco, salt, guns, ammunition, traps, clothing, and the like, for the Indians.

In 1838 there was an attempt to remove the Indians of the lower



MAJOR INDIAN LAND CESSIONS, 1807-1842



Chippewa men and women of Nahma, 1875.

Courtesy Emerson F. Greenman



peninsula to the West. This fell heaviest on the Potawatomi, who had consistently sided with the British ever since 1794, and about three hundred of them were assembled and moved to Kansas by the military. But there were some who were able to escape the soldiers and they formed a village in Cass County. There Leopold Pokagon, who had been one of the leaders in the Fort Dearborn massacre at Chicago in 1812, died in 1841. Other Potawatomi went to Walpole Island on the east side of Lake St. Clair, where their descendants live on a reserve at the present time. The Potawatomi settlement now at Athens in Calhoun County was made in 1844 when those who had escaped the soldiers were sheltered by friendly whites. The whites persuaded the government to assign the land to these Indians in 1844. In this period the Potawatomi that were in Wisconsin moved northward as the white settlers came in. In 1833 a Methodist missionary found land near Harris in Menominee County, for some of these Indians. This settlement, now a reservation of 3359 acres, was named Hannahville after the wife of the missionary. It had a population of about 145 people in 1950.

Some of the Ottawa of Michigan moved to the West before 1833, but most of them remained here. The Ottawa do not now live on any of the so-called reservations in Michigan. There is, however, in the state an organization called the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, which in 1950 owned 4,349 acres of land scattered over a wide area.

The Chippewa do not seem to have been involved at all in the attempt by the whites to remove the Indians, probably because they were not assiduous in trying to expel the whites. In 1950, 1821 of this tribe lived on three reservations with an acreage of 20,070. The largest reservation is at L'Anse, Baraga County, with 15,738 acres and a population of 1323 in 1950. The others are located at Bay Mills a few miles west of Sault Ste Marie, and near Mount Pleasant. Nahma, on Big Bay de Noc in Delta County, has long been a Chippewa village and a few families still live there. At one time there were also Ottawa and Potawatomi at Nahma.

The Menominee now live in Wisconsin. Of all the tribes, the Ottawa and Chippewa were most agreeable to the westward advance of the whites, and the Fox and Potawatomi were the most disagreeable. These two Algonquian tribes, especially the Fox, followed the

Siouan pattern of resistance to a greater extent than the others.

Up to 1843 the Huron, then called Wyandot, were at Brownstown and Maguaga, two towns near the present site of Gibraltar at the Lake Erie end of the Detroit River; and at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. In 1843 they were all removed to Wyandotte County, Kansas, and in 1867 to Indian Territory.

There are no reservations in Michigan in the sense that anyone is compelled to live there. The four tracts of land that are so termed are loosely controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs through the Great Lakes Consolidated Agency at Ashland, Wisconsin, which itself is under the Minneapolis Area Office. The Indians are all full citizens of the United States.

The Indians are now different people than their ancestors of 1700. Inter-marriage with the French began at an early date and it has been continued with the French and other European nationalities since then. Very little remains of the customs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aside from language. But those who regard themselves as Indians preserve the traditional knowledge of the old ways that has come down, and like Americans of European ancestry they have an intense interest in their history, which in their case is that of the ground on which they live. Many of them have been educated during the past century in the public schools and in those supplied by the federal government and the churches. Their occupations today range from that of guides on the lakes and rivers to the professions.

After Michigan began to be settled, some surviving Indians became well known to the whites. One of the best-known of Michigan Indians was Okemos, who was said to be a nephew of Pontiac. The name is but little changed from the Chippewa which means "Little Chief." Okemos was said to have been second in command to Tecumseh, who threw the Indians to the side of the British in the War of 1812. From 1830 to about 1858 Okemos and his band wandered around Michigan between Lansing, Saginaw, and Detroit, trading baskets and other native wares for food. Okemos was one of the first to be the subject of a photograph, an ambrotype taken about 1857.

Another well-known Chippewa chief was Wabojee. He was born about 1747 at Chequamegon Bay, and in his youth was a



Michigan Historical Commission Archives

CHIEF OKEMOS



KANAPIMA (AUGUSTIN HAMMELIN, JR.)

From McKenney and Hall, Indian Tribes of North America.

leader in the defense of the Chippewa domain against encroachment by other tribes, especially the Sioux. Wabojee was the grandfather of Henry R. Schoolcraft's first wife. Other prominent Michigan chiefs were Walk-in-the-Water, a Huron; Minavavana, chief of the Mackinac Chippewa during the Pontiac rebellion in 1763; White Pigeon, whose name is that of a town in St. Joseph County; and Noonday, an Ottawa.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century some of the Michigan Indians began to request agricultural and iron-working equipment, and such were furnished to the Chippewa of Saginaw in 1807 along with a blacksmith to instruct them. In the same year Governor Hull appointed Jacob Visgar to instruct the Wyandot in the use of machinery they already possessed.

Later in the nineteenth century some Indians had the impulse, and sometimes the means, to acquire an education at their own expense in this country and abroad. Among these were the youngest son of Waishkey, an Ojibway chief at Sault Ste Marie; Mary Mandoka, wife of the Potawatomi chief of that name, who was educated at Albion College in the early 1840's; and Henry Jackson, a Chippewa, who was to become a Methodist minister among the Ottawa in Allegan County.

Not having adequate funds for an education, Andrew J. Blackbird appealed in 1856 to the Indian agency at Northport for benefits prescribed in the treaty of 1855, but they were refused on the grounds that he had voted the wrong ticket in the general election of 1856. But Blackbird nevertheless was given his passage to Detroit for the purpose of entering the University of Michigan. In Detroit, former Governor Lewis Cass recommended that he attend Ypsilanti Normal School instead, and this he did for two and a half years, working on a farm to supply his needs until the government money came. But it did not come, and he returned to Harbor Springs at the end of that time. In 1861 Blackbird became interpreter for the Mackinac Indian Agency, succeeding his cousin, Augustin Hammelin, Jr., or Kanapima, and he later held the position of postmaster at Harbor Springs for eleven years. Augustin Hammelin, Jr. and his cousin William Blackbird, brother of Andrew, were educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Rome, but William was inexplicably murdered there, and Augustin returned to Harbor

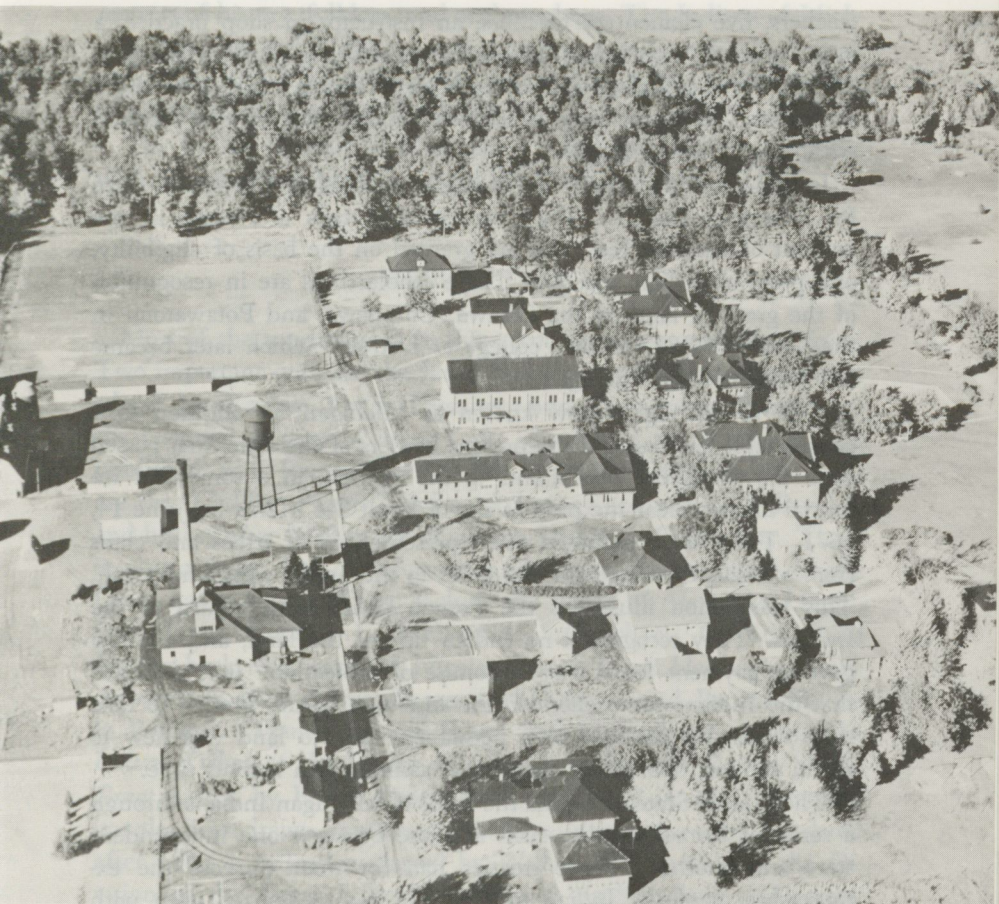
Springs without becoming a priest. Andrew J. Blackbird published a history of the Ottawa and Chippewa in 1887, and a second edition was printed in 1897. In 1900 he also published a pamphlet entitled *The Indian Problem from the Indian Standpoint*, in which he put forth some ideas that were rather progressive for that time.

Simon Pokagon, son of Leopold Pokagon, received an education at Notre Dame University, Oberlin College, and Twinsburg Institute in Twinsburg, Ohio. Simon was born in 1830 at his father's village in Cass County, and he died on January 28, 1899, at his home in Lee Township, Allegan County. He was the author of a book and of ten articles in various magazines, and his public addresses were printed in several newspapers. His book, *Ogimawkwe Mitigwaki, or Queen of the Woods*, is mainly the story of the courtship of his first wife. In its theme and style of writing, the book reflects an acquaintance on the part of the author with the romantic fiction of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Mount Pleasant Indian School was operated by the United States government. This school was situated on a campus and farm consisting of 320 acres, 190 of which were cultivated. The buildings included two dormitories for boys and two for girls, a hospital, a dining room and kitchen, a laundry, an academic building with an auditorium, a home economics building, and houses for employees. It was opened on January 3, 1893, mainly for children who lived too far from public schools and who had completed the eighth grade. Orphans, or children from broken families, were favored. In addition to general appropriations by Congress, the government set aside \$336,925 for this school between 1900 and 1928. It was discontinued in 1933.

The academic courses were based on those of the state school system, and in addition the girls from the fifth grade on received instruction in all branches of home economics; and the boys were given instruction in carpentry, baking, dairying, farming, and electrical work. Upon completion of the ninth grade, students could go to one of the senior high schools maintained by the government at Flandreau, South Dakota, or at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

At the Mount Pleasant school the staff included a superintendent, principal, three clerks, a physician, nurse, three junior high school



Courtesy Clarke Historical Collection

THE MOUNT PLEASANT INDIAN SCHOOL—An aerial view in 1933.

teachers, five elementary teachers, an instructor in shop practice, a music teacher, two home economics teachers, a physical director, advisors for boys and girls, farmers, house matrons, a carpenter and a seamstress. Books, clothing, board, room and recreation were received without cost to the pupils.

In 1932 the University of Michigan established five scholarships for American Indians. They consist of a cash allowance in the amount of semester fees, and are granted on the basis of eligibility, and proof of Indian ancestry. These scholarships are in recognition of the grant of land by the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi in the Treaty of 1817 to the "college at Detroit," which later became the University of Michigan.

Title to the region now known as Michigan, in addition to a considerable area beyond the present borders of the state, first passed from the aboriginal inhabitants to the French, in a somewhat informal manner near the present site of Sault Ste Marie, on June 14, 1671. There were gathered the representatives of tribes and clans from a radius of three hundred miles to the north, west, and south. This transaction illustrates the French policy with regard to the Indians. They recognized no Indian title to the land, and all they gave in payment for it was a promise of protection. It is doubtful that the Indians comprehended the intention of the French to take their lands, for the idea of a permanent title to land was new to them, and not one which they could assimilate in a short time.

The United States acquired the lands of Michigan Indians through a series of formal treaties, such as those between one independent state and another. These treaties had for their purpose the extinguishment of the Indian title, which was recognized even with regard to lands ceded to the United States by Great Britain at the close of the War of the Revolution. Only one of the treaties involving the cession of lands in Michigan was the outcome of military engagements between the Americans and the Indians. This was the Treaty of Greenville, negotiated by Anthony Wayne a year after the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

The white settlers of Michigan were inclined to look upon the Indians as savages. Such have always been the relationship between people with a superior technology and those they have conquered. Neither side, until quite recently, have informed themselves in

matters of history, folklore, and anthropology. The Indians of Michigan, and all the Indians for that matter, were civilized in their own way, with strict rules of conduct and manners, and ideas that come under the heading of religion.

The Indian of today in Michigan is a full citizen, living at peace with his white neighbor in a land they both call home.

SOURCES USED

Most of the sources used in this account exist in published form. Two important ones are the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites; and *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, edited by J. R. Brodhead, and published as a fourteen-volume set in 1855. Other sources used are the "Cadillac Papers," and a good many accounts of Indian life and history after 1830 in the *Michigan Historical Collections*. There is also a great deal of information in the books on travel in the Great Lakes region. These include the works of Alexander Henry, John Long, Thomas L. McKenney, and Johann G. Kohl; and further back, the works of Nicolas Perrot, Louis Hennepin, Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahonton, and Bacqueville de la Potherie. Translations of Perrot and La Potherie are in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, by Emma Helen Blair, published in 1911. Material has also been drawn from several thousand newspaper clippings dated after 1880, a collection started by Wilbert B. Hinsdale of the Division of the Great Lakes, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan. The two-volume *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, (1907, 1912) contains a considerable amount of information with references to early records, under tribal and clan or band names arranged alphabetically.

The translation into English of Indian words is based on accounts by early writers and, for Ottawa and Chippewa, the *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, by Frederick Baraga (1853); "Ojibwa Texts" by William Jones (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, VII, Parts 1, 2, 1917); and on data collected by the writer since 1923 from individual Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and

Cree Indians in Michigan and Ontario. For translations of Iroquois, texts collected by J. N. B. Hewitt are the sole source. These are published in the *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* of the Smithsonian Institution, under the title "Iroquoian Cosmology."

RECOMMENDED READING

F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries* (New York, 1954).

Emerson F. Greenman, "Indian Chiefs of Michigan," in *Michigan History*, 23:220-49 (Summer, 1939); "Chieftainship Among Michigan Indians," in *Michigan History*, 24:361-79 (Summer, 1940).

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Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, 1947).

George Irving Quimby, *Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800* (Chicago, 1960).

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- No. 1: *Indians in Michigan* (1962). \$1.00. Eighteen reproductions of pictures relating to Michigan Indians.

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Brown, Alan S., ed., *Classroom Guide for United States and Michigan History* (1963). 38 pp. \$0.50 (free to teachers of Michigan history)

A History of Michigan in Paintings. A series of paintings on major events and topics in Michigan history by Robert Thom. On the back of the full-color, sixteen-by-eleven-inch reproductions of each painting is a text by F. Clever Bald relating the history of the painting's subject matter. Available in several sets of four reproductions each, at \$1.00 per set. For a listing of the paintings included in each set write to the Michigan Historical Commission, Michigan Department of State, Lansing, Michigan 48918.

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